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there face to face with armies whom even their countless divisions cannot overcome? If, when they have felt their check to be final, they should propose favorable and equitable terms with regard to Belgium and France and Italy, could they blame us if we concluded that they did so only to assure themselves of a free hand in Russia and the East?

Their purpose is, undoubtedly, to make all the Slavic peoples, all the free and ambitious nations of the Baltic Peninsula, all the lands that Turkey has dominated and misruled, subject to their will and ambition, and build upon that dominion an empire of force upon which they fancy that they can then erect an empire of gain and commercial supremacy—an empire as hostile to the Americas as to the Europe which it will overawe—an empire which will ultimately master Persia, India, and the peoples of the Far East.

In such a program our ideals, the ideals of justice and humanity and liberty, the principle of the free self-determination of nations, upon which all the modern world insists, can play no part. They are rejected for the ideals of power, for the principle that the strong must rule the weak, that trade must follow the flag, whether those to whom it is taken welcome it or not, that the peoples of the world are to be made subject to the patronage and overlordship of those who have the power to enforce it.

That program once carried out, America and all who care or dare to stand with her must arm and prepare themselves to contest the mastery of the world—a mastery in which the rights of common men, the rights of women and of all who are weak, must for the time being be trodden under foot and disregarded and the old, age-long struggle for freedom and right begin again at its beginning. Everything that America has lived for and loved and grown great to vindicate and bring to a glorious realization will have fallen in utter ruin and the gates of mercy once more pitilessly shut upon mankind!

The thing is preposterous and impossible; and yet is not that what the whole course and action of the German armies has meant wherever they have moved? I do not wish, even in this moment of utter disillusionment, to judge harshly or unrighteously. I judge only what the German arms have accomplished with un pitying thoroughness throughout every fair region they have touched.

What, then, are we to do? For myself, I am ready, ready still, ready even now, to discuss a fair and just and honest peace at any time that it is sincerely purposed—a peace in which the strong and the weak shall fare alike. But the answer, when I proposed such a peace, came from the German commanders in Russia and I cannot mistake the meaning of the answer.

I accept the challenge. I know that you accept it. All the world shall know that you accept it. It shall appear in the utter sacrifice and self-forgetfulness with which we shall give all that we love and all that we have to redeem the world and make it fit for free men like ourselves to live in. This now is the meaning of all that we do. Let everything that we say, my fellow-countrymen, everything that we henceforth plan and accomplish, ring true to this response till the majesty and might of our concerted power shall fill the thought and

utterly defeat the force of those who flout and misprize what we honor and hold dear.

Germany has once more said that force, and force alone, shall decide whether justice and peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether right as America conceives it or dominion as she conceives it shall determine the destinies of mankind. There is, therefore, but one response possible from us: Force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust.

THE PACT OF CORFU.

THE REBIRTH OF A NATION.

[Mention of this treaty between the Slovenes, Serbs, and Croats, signed at Corfu, July 20, 1917, is to be found on page 276 of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* for October, 1917. When first published this treaty provoked considerable antagonism in the Italian press. At the recent Congress of Oppressed Nationalities at Rome, mentioned on another page of this issue, informal negotiations and discussion freely entered into by both Italian and Jugo-Slavs informally ratified this treaty in all its terms. This change of front on the part of Italy, and its possible influence for the disintegration of the Dual Monarchy, with the possible redistribution of Austria in the formation of the kingdom here outlined, make this treaty of some importance and interest at present.—THE EDITOR.]

HE authorized representatives of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, in declaring that it is the sole and unyielding demand of our people to be free from every foreign yoke and to constitute itself a single, free, national and independent State, a desire based on the principle that every nation has the right to decide its own destiny, are agreed in judging that this State should be founded on the following modern and democratic principles:

(1) The state of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, who are also known as the Southern Slavs, or Jugo-Slavs, will be a free and independent kingdom, with indivisible territory and unity of allegiance. It will be a constitutional, democratic and parliamentary monarchy under the Karageorgevitch dynasty, which has always shared the ideas and the feelings of the nation, placing liberty and the national will above all else.

(2) This State will be named "The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes." And the style of the sovereign will be "King of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes."

(3) The State will have a single coat-of-arms, a single flag, and a single crown. These emblems will be composed of the present existing emblems. The unity of the State will be symbolized by the coat-of-arms and the flag of the kingdom.

(4) The special Serb, Croat and Slovene flags rank equally and may be freely hoisted on all occasions. The special coat-of-arms may be used with equal freedom.

(5) The three national designations—Serbs, Croats and Slovenes—are equal before the law throughout the territory of the kingdom, and every one may use them freely upon all occasions of public life and in dealing with the authorities.

(6) The two alphabets, the Cyrillic and the Latin, also rank equally, and every one may use them freely throughout the territory of the Kingdom. The royal

authorities and the local self-governing authorities have both the right and the duty to employ both alphabets in accordance with the wishes of the citizens.

(7) All recognized religions may be freely and publicly exercised. The Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Mussulman faiths, which are those chiefly professed by our nation, shall rank equally and enjoy equal rights with regard to the State.

In consideration of these principles the Legislature will take special care to safeguard religious concord in conformity with the spirit and tradition of our whole nation.

(8) The calendar shall be unified as soon as possible.

(9) The territory of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes will include all the territory inhabited compactly and in territorial continuity by our nation of the three names. It cannot be mutilated without detriment to the vital interests of the community.

Our nation demands nothing that belongs to others. It demands only what is its own. It desires to free itself and to achieve its unity. Therefore it consciously and firmly refuses every partial solution of the problem of its national liberation and unification. It puts forward the proposition of its deliverance from Austro-Hungarian domination and its union with Serbia and Montenegro in a single State forming an indivisible whole.

In accordance with the right of self-determination of peoples, no part of this territorial totality may, without infringement of justice, be detached and incorporated with some other state without the consent of the nation itself.

(10) In the interests of freedom and of the equal rights of all nations, the Adriatic shall be free and open to each and all.

(11) All citizens throughout the whole territory of the Kingdom shall be equal and enjoy the same rights with regard to the State and before the law.

(12) The election of the deputies to the national representative body shall be by universal suffrage, with equal, direct and secret ballot. The same shall apply to the elections in the communes and other administrative units. Elections will take place in each commune.

(13) The Constitution, to be established after the conclusion of peace by a constituent assembly elected by universal suffrage, with direct and secret ballot, will be the basis of the entire life of the State; it will be the source and consummation of all authority and of all rights by which the entire life of the nation will be regulated.

The Constitution will provide the nation with the possibility of exercising its special energies in local autonomies delimited by natural, social and economic conditions.

The Constitution must be passed in its entirety by a numerically defined majority in the Constituent Assembly.

The Constitution, like all other laws passed by the Constituent Assembly, will come into force after having received the royal sanction.

The nation of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, thus unified, will form a State of about twelve million inhabitants. This State will be the guarantee for their independence and national development and their na-

tional and intellectual progress in general, a mighty bulwark against the German thrust, an inseparable ally of all the civilized nations and States which have proclaimed the principle of right and liberty and that of international justice. It will be a worthy member of the new Community of Nations.

Drawn up in Corfu, July 7/20, 1917.

The President of the Jugo-Slav Committee,

(Signed)

DR. ANTE TRUMBIC,
*Advocate, Deputy and Leader of the
Croatian National Party in the Dal-
matian Diet, late Mayor of Split
(Spalato), late Deputy for the Dis-
trict of Zadar (Zara) in the Aus-
trian Parliament.*

The Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Serbia and Minister for Foreign Affairs,

(Signed)

NIKOLA P. PASIC.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS AND THE WAR.

A STATEMENT

By the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, adopted at its session of March 29, 1918.

THIS decisive hour of history summons our society to make its utmost contribution to humanity's deepest needs. Believing that this requires us to meet the moral and spiritual issues of the times simply and fearlessly, we feel called to make clear our Christian faith as applied to war.

Our society's opposition to all war as unchristian has been maintained throughout its history. In 1660 our forefathers declared:

"We utterly deny all outward wars and strife, and fightings with outward weapons, for any end, or under any pretense whatever; this is our testimony to the whole world. The Spirit of Christ by which we are guided is not changeable, so as once to command us from a thing as evil and again to move unto it; and we certainly know, and testify to the world, that the Spirit of Christ, which leads us into all truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the Kingdom of Christ, nor for the kingdoms of this world."

These convictions have been reaffirmed by Friends in all generations, and during the present war our yearly meetings throughout the world have given clear evidence that they are steadfast to the same principles.

The basis of our opposition to war is much more than any single command of the Old or New Testament. It is our faith that the way of love, by which our Master, Jesus Christ, met and conquered evil, remains for His followers today the true method of combating wrong. For us, as for Him, this involves refusal to use means which, like war, violate love and defeat its ends; but it does not mean a weak neutrality toward evil. For us, as for Him, it means a life of action devoted to the